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171 175 wide distribution in Africa (C. Wiedemann, 1909) and the ceremony still survives among the Ovimbundu in modified form.

[114] Though an informative writer, Monteiro is sometimes vague; he says (I, p. 278) that circumcision is a universal custom among the blacks of Angola. In view of the extent of Angola, the diversity of tribes, and the fact that Monteiro traveled over only a small part of the country, this information is misleading.

Monteiro is the only writer in whose works I have found a reference to the Vasele tribe; probably no part of Angola has been so neglected as the Esele country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo. At the present day the Vasele have a reputation for cannibalism. [266] Monteiro saw human flesh eaten at Cuacra, while the skulls of the victims were placed on adjacent trees. Monteiro states (II, p. 167) that on the death of a king the Mucelis (Vasele) put out all the fires in the kingdom; these were relighted by the succeeding king who [321] used fire produced by rubbing two sticks together. The flat beads of shell called *dongos*, made from *Achatina monetaria* (II, p. 168), are made today and traded to the far south of Angola, where their novelty assures them a value far beyond their intrinsic worth. I was fortunate in obtaining an example of the old beheading ax mentioned by Monteiro (II, p. 157) and sketched by Cavazzi (p. 210). Par- [262] boiled and roasted rats were offered to me as food; Monteiro mentions the offering of a roasted rat on a skewer (I, p. 99).

The account of Commander V. L. Cameron, who left Zanzibar for his journey across Africa in 1873, mentions several points of anthropological importance in relation to the Angolan section of his • [756] journey. Cameron saw a net-covered medicine-man of the Kibokue (Vachokue) wearing a mask and a kilt of grass (p. 384). The function [524] of this man was to frighten devils from the woods. The contest in which boys discharge their arrows at a rolling root was seen by Cameron near Kagnombe (Cangamba?). Skulls of victims killed in [787] war were spiked on poles (p. 399). The diviner was followed by attendants who struck iron gongs, while the diviner himself shook a rattle made of basket-work in the form of a dumb-bell (p. 404). Cameron gives an accurate description of the divination basket and its use without going into details. These I have been able to supply [482] (chapter IX). The explorer met caravans of Bihéans, renowned carriers then as they are today. They were usually drunk and abusive; in some instances they attempted to rob the stragglers. 000 The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open

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787 532 A common type of small figurine, some of which are female, others asexual, is represented by an illustration (Plate XXI, Fig. 2). Such little carvings are a normal part of the miscellaneous contents of a divination basket described in chapter IX. These figures have been obtained from Elende, Bailundu, and Caconda, all of which are centers of Umbundu culture.

322 532 756 In addition to the figurines described, the collection contains many more whose use may be conjectured. The interrogation of Ovimbundu people indicates clearly that there are specific uses of wooden figures which are consulted by the medicine-man. The foregoing explanations illustrate the nature of the beliefs associated with carved wooden figures, but it is not always possible to elicit a clear account of the specific use of each one.

171 532 Consideration of this aspect of the wood-carver's art has an important bearing on the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu. In studying this question I have instituted comparisons between these figures from the Ovimbundu of Angola and similar figures from the Kasai area of the Congo region (chapter X). The publications of the Musée Congo Belge provide illustrations for comparison with the figures in Field Museum's collection.

The carving of animal forms (Plate XIX, Figs. 1–5) is no more than a means of aesthetic expression resulting from accurate observations of animal life as recorded under "Nature Lore." Inquiry failed to show that figures of animals are, or were at any time, used in rites and ceremonies.

[643] The carrying of a carved stick is essential when a chief is visiting, attending a council in his own village, or receiving visitors. The ornamental paddle (Plate XX, Fig. 8) was owned by the chief of the capital village (*ombala*) of the Vangangella, near Ngalangi.

[765] At the death of a chief his staff of office, with his tobacco-pipe and sleeping mat, are placed in a small house where such relics of deceased chiefs are kept permanently (Plate XLVI, Fig. 1). Plate XX, Fig. 6, shows a staff of this kind which was preserved in a sacred house in the capital village of Ngalangi, and on the same plate are drawn short ornamental clubs which French ethnologists call *batons de promenade*, an appropriate name because of their use as part of the full dress equipment.

[276] The Ovimbundu have specialized in the carving of small objects, for, in addition to clubs and staffs, tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes are often elaborately carved (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

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Men are exclusively the makers of 462
musical instruments, and males are the musicians. Men are the [534]
only persons engaged in warfare and administration, and the *onjango* or council house is used exclusively by males. Men follow the [756]
occupation of medicine-man, in which there is considerable specialization. Female practitioners deal with pregnancy and women's ailments. In addition to the tasks for women mentioned above, the following are staple occupations: collecting firewood, drawing water, caring for infants, making pottery, weaving baskets, dancing, and singing. Young girls share these activities with older women.

The foregoing categories explain division on the grounds of sex. 463
Degrees of specialization are not so easy to formulate, but in general a man follows some one occupation, for example wood-carving. Then within this occupation there is specialization in the making of drums, domestic utensils, or figurines.

Almost any woman could make pottery or baskets, but the difference in skill leads naturally to concentration in the hands of expert potters and basket-weavers respectively. These sell their [432]
wares to those who either do not make such articles or are inept at the process.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT, MANNERS, AND SALUTATIONS

The parents of a child, also his maternal uncle, assume respon- 861
sibility for training in the precepts and standards given here. The 867
maternal uncle, who is the mother's oldest brother, is particularly interested because he has to pay fines should his sister's children commit thefts. The evidence indicates that the home and restricted family have formative influences over the conduct of children.

Children are beaten if they tell lies, answer old people rudely, or steal food. Ngonga says that his "stealing hand" was once placed in the hot leaves of the cooking pot. If a child steals an egg which is cooking, the hot egg is held between the culprit's hands.

One cannot fail to notice the quiet and unobtrusive way in which children sit in the presence of their elders both in the home and in the council house. Children do not speak when their elders are in [858]
conversation, unless addressed.

A child, likewise an adult, receives a gift with both hands. The [576]
implied idea is that reception with one hand is a depreciation of the gift. If a child holds out one hand, the hand is slapped. When receiving, an Ocimbundu says *"kuku,"* literally grandfather or elder. Colloquially the word is used to mean greeting, "I thank you," or "I beg your pardon."

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of the word depends upon the syllable accented and the context, as further explained in the chapter on the Umbundu language. 576 643

A man or woman of the royal family greets the king with the words *na kuku; na* means "lord," and *kuku* is a term used for any old man to whom the speaker intends to show respect. *Kuku* is also applied to a man who stands in the relationship of grandfather. The king is expected to reply to a greeting given by one of the royal family by placing his right hand on his chest and saying twice, "*kalunga.*" There may then follow from the king a question relating to welfare in general. Possibly the king will inquire the object of his subject's journey. A *sekulu* ("chief of a village") greets a king in the same manner as does a commoner, and the king replies as he would to a commoner. 565

Commoners greet a *sekulu* with the words *na kalunga* ("lord, greeting"). One *sekulu* greets another of the same rank with the one word *kalunga,* accompanied by clapping of the palms. Male commoners clap hands on meeting; this action is accompanied by the word *kalunga,* from each of them. Two female commoners use the word *kalunga* as a greeting, but as a rule they do not clap hands. They do, however, clap their palms when greeting a woman of the royal house.

Boys and girls must greet their fathers, maternal uncles, grandfathers, and other old men with either of the terms *na kuku* or *na kalunga,* the latter being more usual. *Na kuku* would be the appropriate term of respect for any elderly man. Children use the same words (*na kuku*) when addressing any elderly woman, including a grandmother. A usual greeting of a child to the mother, likewise to the mother's sister, would be *kalunga mai* ("greetings, mother"). 561 576

There is no prescribed form of address to the medicine-man. Greetings between a commoner and a medicine-man follow the usage noted for two commoners. Ngonga says, "They will treat him (the medicine-man) like a village chief if he is an old man and good. Perhaps they will say *na kalunga* as if talking to a chief." 576 [654] [756]

In the early morning people pass the greeting *oku lipasula.* This means "we have been like dead, we are awake." The appropriate early morning greeting of a commoner to the king or to a chief is *oku lipasula a kuku.* A usual afternoon greeting is *oku lañisa.* The evening greeting is *oku lisuñinya.* [643]

One who desires to pass across a room usually walks in front of other people, but while passing the attitude must not be erect. The thumb and middle finger should be snapped together, while the words

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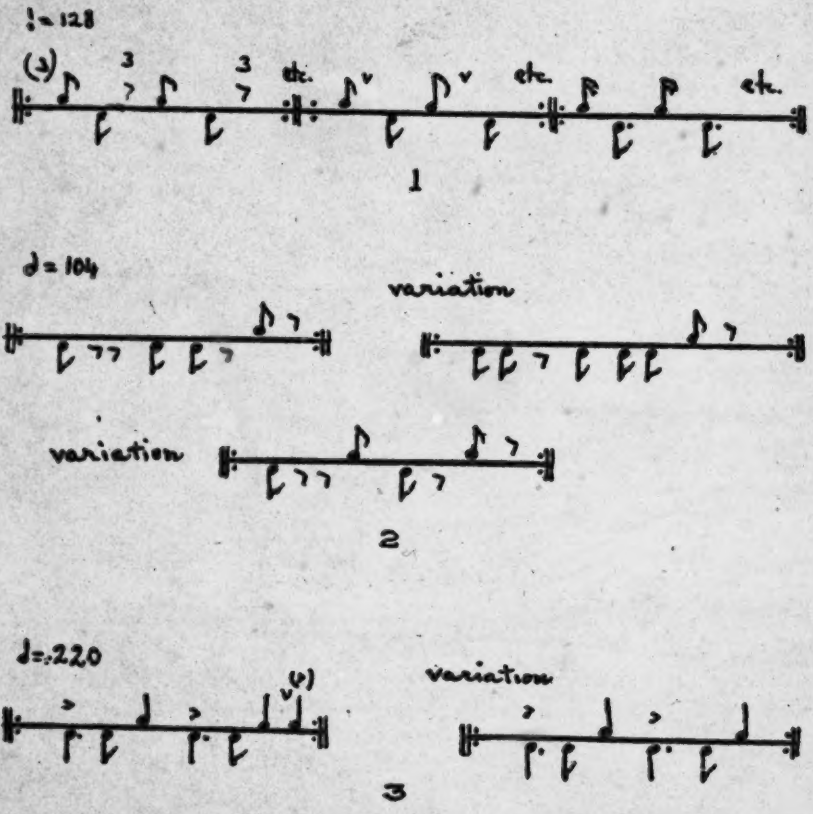

534 and in the middle was an oval aperture. The performer laid the drum on the ground and took his seat astride it. He dipped his right hand in a gourd of water, then rubbed his wet palm up and down the cane rod, which he could reach through the oval aperture. The sound of the rubbing on the rod was communicated to the membrane.

A short friction drum made at Elende measures 21 by 42 cm. One end of the drum is covered with hide kept taut by pegs of wood while the other end is open for the insertion of the player's hand. A cane rod is attached to the inside of the membrane. The [156] assistant of a medicine-man holds this instrument under his arm and plays during divination. The medicine-man sits on a stool shaking his divination basket (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2).

Rattles are of three kinds, and of these the more common are a small, long-necked gourd containing hard seeds, and a compound

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The compound in which the initiates had been confined for three months was a circular enclosure made of light branches and leafy boughs, at the narrow embrasure of which stood a guardian of the boys, who permitted entrance. In the middle of the large enclosure were seven small cages, each of which was just large enough to allow one boy to lie on his back, and I was informed that the boys lie thus for two weeks after circumcision (Plate LXXX, Fig. 2).

The ages of the boys appeared to be from ten to seventeen years (Plate LXXX, Fig. 1), an observation which agrees well with that made at Katoko and Ngongo. The disparity of age among the novices at each center where initiation was observed bears out the statement that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals, but not more frequently than once in four years.

During confinement in the large enclosure the novices had made masks and costumes (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 1), and when they were pulling on the coarse netting suits, which fit tightly, I observed that circumcision had been performed thoroughly, evidently some weeks ago, for the wounds were healed. Masks were obtained, and these the instructors of the boys were careful to wrap in bark cloth, at the same time requesting me not to show the objects to women.

A few days later these boys returned to their village to dance while wearing the costumes which had been made in the enclosure. At Cangamba the final ceremony lasted twelve hours amid great excitement, including ceaseless drumming and dancing. One boy, who wore a skirt on his fiber costume, lifted this to display an artificial penis of great size (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2). This organ he grasped in his hand while chasing the women and girls, who ran away screaming and laughing.

At this ceremony there appeared stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 1) and a medicine-man, a member of the Luchazi tribe (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2).

Circumcision among the Bdjok (Vachokue) has been witnessed by C. P. Holdredge and described by Kimball Young (*Amer. Anthr.*, XXIX, pp. 661–669). This ceremony took place in the far northeast of Angola. The man described as the *magish* of whom women are afraid, but who is known to the initiates, corresponds to the Uluchazi medicine-man seen in the final ceremony at Cangamba. Of this grotesquely dressed person the men and boys took no notice, neither did he pay attention to them. On the contrary he chased women, who ran away screaming. Kimball Young's description of the enclosure where boys are confined, and his account of the

MEDICINE-MEN

756 When a medicine-man dies the people call in another medicine-
766 man to take charge of the ceremonies. The corpse is tied in a sitting posture, which is the attitude for burial. His charms are attached to his body and in this position they remain in the grave. The head ornament *osala*, which may be feathers, quills of the porcupine, or hair from a goat's beard, is placed upright on the head and fastened by a band under the chin (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2). The corpse is kept in a seated position lashed to a stool for three days. There is no coffin.

The corpse is carried in the posture described to the grave which is dug at a cross-path. The corpse of a medicine-man is questioned in the same manner as that employed in interrogating the corpse of a commoner. When the corpse is placed in its grave the medicine-men, some of them from a distance, dance because they have "spirit in their heads." The medicine-men shake their heads while dancing, and without pausing each eats a living chicken that he carries in his hand. At the side of the grave, a dog, a chicken, and a goat are killed. No part of the flesh is buried; it is consumed by those present at the funeral.

A sleeping mat is placed in the grave, and on the mound of earth are placed horns filled with medicine, and skins which used to hang from the waist of the medicine-man when he was performing. The rain-making charms are not buried in the grave, because their interment would cause the rainfall to diminish; the charms may, however, be placed on the outside of the grave. No food is placed in or on the grave. The mound of earth is painted with a human male figure. When a new medicine-man is making medicine or performing ceremonies he uses the name of a deceased medicine-man.

756 It is thought that the dead medicine-man has spirits which he is able to send to earth. No images of the medicine-man are made. Medicine-men visit the grave at night in order to take parts of the corpse to include in their medicine. At Caconda in western Angola I obtained the outfit of a medicine-man who included in his equipment two small hoe blades which he used for disinterring the dead. There was a portion of human tibia in the basket and a round stone pounder for pulverizing bone along with other ingredients.

[769] The funeral rites of a medicine-woman are the same as those of a medicine-man except that medicine-women carry the corpse. An *osoma* ("king") or a *sekulu* ("chief") will visit the grave of a medicine-man to ask for rain or other favors.

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positions on domes of rock. The first tomb examined was in Ganda (Plate LXXIV, Fig. 1). This tomb is carefully built up from pieces of granite detached from the rocks which serve as a base. Horns of animals are placed on the cairn which is further decorated by a stick bearing the tail of an animal. Plate XXXII, Fig. 1, shows a tomb of similar structure in the country of the Vasele. From one such tomb it was possible to detach a slab so that the interior could be seen. There were two male skeletons; one lay supine while the bones of the other were in disorder.

In a hunter's house of bows there are implements of deceased hunters, whose ceremonies centering in these relics have been described under the heading of hunting.

TRAINING OF MEDICINE-MEN

Training for the position of male or female magician (*ocimbanda*) is not carried out with formality ending in initiatory rites, neither is the position hereditary; but the boy or girl who wishes to become an *ocimbanda* must have "spirit in the head." This choice of children of peculiar neurotic temperament for the positions of medicine-men and medicine-women is widely distributed, as I have shown in some detail (Origins of Education, 1926, pp. 256–259).

Among the Ovimbundu there does not appear to be an intensifying of natural psychoses by seclusion, starvation, or beating. When a boy is sick, the medicine-man says, "You have a spirit who wants you to be *ocimbanda*." The medicine-man kills a dog, a goat, and four chickens, then the boy has to accompany his master, carrying his apparatus and obeying him in every way. The medicine-man says, "Your father was an *ocimbanda* and the spirit wants you." The female *ocimbanda* is called *cambula* by other women, and her services are preferred to those of the male *ocimbanda* in cases of difficult childbirth.

In Ngalangi I was informed that the Ovimbundu have great faith in the medicine-men of the Vangangella, a name vaguely applied by the Ovimbundu to several tribes of east-central Angola. An Ocimbundu will make a journey of several days in order to visit a distant medicine-man of another tribe.

FUNCTIONS OF MEDICINE-MEN

Magical practices are of two kinds, social and anti-social. The man who carries out divination, rain-making, healing the sick, and many other functions is *ocimbanda*, while the secret worker of evil, the witch or wizard, is *onganga*. In one village there may be several

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756 men and women each of whom receives the name *ocimbanda*, and specialization in some particular form of magical practice is the [554] rule. Some practitioners are more highly esteemed than others. For example, an *ocimbanda* who has the reputation for curing dizziness, madness, and *onyalai* (p. 281) is one of great repute; so also is the man who can cure a case of blood in the urine (*biliosa*). [164] This is the Portuguese term commonly applied to blackwater fever.

DIVINATION

787 An examination of objects collected gives the best indication of the equipment of the *ocimbanda*, and among these no item is more important than the small divination basket containing a heterogeneous collection of objects.

A diviner receives the distinguishing title of *ocimbanda congomba*, and a description of his methods explains his belief in the activities of spirits. He shakes the basket while his assistant plays a small friction drum; then he inspects the objects lying at the top.

A figure with beads on its neck indicates that trouble is due to the ghost of a dead baby whose spirit wishes to come back.

A piece of gourd with a round orifice means that some one has been talking too much. The orifice represents a human mouth.

Two figures, male and female, whispering together, indicate that a husband and wife are making a plan to poison somebody.

The figure of a female with a large abdomen indicates that the spirit of a deceased pregnant woman is causing sickness in the village.

The horn with shells on it indicates that the woman who is consulting the diviner will not bear children.

There is a little figure with a black tuft on its head, whose [177] arrival at the top of the basket indicates that misfortune among the natives is caused by Europeans. When talking to this figure the medicine-man tries to speak like a white man by adopting a falsetto voice and mimicking the intonation of Europeans.

The figure with a little crest on its head is an indication of sickness or other trouble arising from a spirit which likes to drink blood. When this figure comes to the top of the basket, the medicine-man induces the blood-drinking spirit to enter a man, because the evil must first be localized before it can be exorcised. This possessed person dances with a small ax or a hair switch in his hand. When dancing has induced a frenzy, the dancer kills a pig and drinks the fresh blood. The blood-drinking spirit is in this way exorcised from the community.

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778 The charm *osonge* or *ombuigu* is in the form of small neckbands of plaited fiber to which two or three cowrie shells are fastened. It is worn by women who wish to induce conception. A neckband of this kind which was worn by the maternal grandmother is thought to be specially effective. Sometimes a small rattle, formed from seed pods attached to a stick, is tied to the neckband. The rattle is shaken when the mother of twins meets a friend to whom she is not allowed to give the ordinary greeting.

751 A tortoise shell containing fat and charcoal is worn by the mother of a child who is afflicted by the spirit of *Kandundu*, which may cause the baby to have skin eruptions or a very small amount of hair. In order to cure her child, the mother must eat small quantities of the contents of the shell from time to time. In some sympathetic way the medicinal benefits are transferred to the infant.

756 When dancing, the medicine-man usually wears a goat's beard attached to a circular piece of basketry. This *osala* is sometimes fastened on the top of his head. In place of the ax already mentioned he may flourish a small ceremonial hoe or whisk, or a wooden baton with a tuft of hair at the end.

[766] Among the varied duties of the medicine-man is that of washing the body of a king (*osoma*) or a chief (*sekulu*). To water in a pot, the medicine-man adds some of the blood of a freshly killed chicken. Then in a hut specially reserved for the purpose he performs the ceremonial ablution.

At Cangamba an Ocivokue performed a ceremony which was supposed to make a thief return to the village for trial. The medicine-man sat on his haunches, holding in one hand a small rattle and in the other a slender stick on which the decorated carapace of a tortoise was poised (Plate LXXXII, Fig. 1). Very earnestly the man talked, shook his head, and gazed at the tortoise shell which began to twist on its pivot. As the medicine-man muttered and shook his rattle, the movement of the shell grew faster. Presently the rotation of the tortoise shell was reversed, but so adroitly that I could not follow the movement or imitate it when allowed to try. The reversed movement of the carapace on its pivot represents the culprit turning back to his village.

CURING THE SICK

755 At Cangamba a female *ocimbanda* was seen painting marks of red and white on the face of a sick woman. The ceremony was called *ocihamba* and its object was said to be the relief of rheumatism,

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CONCLUDING CEREMONIES, TRIBAL INITIATION, CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Bilit-walkers, Vachokwe. Fig. 2. Mudidim-mask, Lovbasi

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• 756

[p.436]